

# TIME HAS COME FOR ACTION

By CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

*Pam* *Int. relations* *111*  
**How Should The General International Organization  
Be Built?**

**Who Should Belong?** *Oct 22 1944*

**How Shall It Be Controlled?**

**What Are The Obligations?**

**How Shall Peace Be Enforced?**

**How Shall Justice Be Attained?**

**Can Living Standards Be Improved?**

**What Should Be Done With The Colonies?**

**Where Will The Headquarters Be?**

**Who Will Pay The Bills?**

**What Shall Be Done With The League Of Nations?**

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## I.

### WHO SHOULD BELONG?

ALL NATIONS should be bound by certain laws, and all nations obeying these laws should be entitled to use the machinery of the world organization. Consequently it would be best to give up entirely the use of the word "member."

There are two sides to citizenship: The laws which the citizen must obey, and the rights and privileges to which he is entitled. The first is his debt to society from which he cannot escape. The second is his gain from society.

Such should be the relationship of nations to the world community.

Every nation should be bound by certain fundamental laws from which there is no escape:

*To abstain from the use of military force against its neighbor;*

*To settle disputes by peaceful means only;*

*To cooperate with other nations to prevent aggression.*

As the world community develops, nations will accept other universal obligations, but in the beginning the above three are basic.

The rights and privileges to be gained by a nation from the world community are: Security against war, and improved economic and social opportunities. No nation can, of course, be compelled to enjoy these to the full; but the right to use the machinery of the world organization should belong to every law-abiding nation.

It was a weakness of the League of Nations that a state had to apply for membership. The state could choose whether or not to come out of the jungle into the circle of law and order. It could be admitted or blackballed. It could quit and go home if it did not wish to behave. The use of the League's machinery was not an automatic right.

The United Nations must make a different approach. All nations, without exception, must be bound by the laws against war. All nations, without exception, so long as they are obeying these laws must eventually have the right to use the machinery.

Of course, participation by all nations cannot be put into effect until after the war. But it is highly important that the start be made now. The forty-four United Nations and Associates, representing eighty per cent of the world's population, should proclaim now a charter of the General International Organization. The laws should be universally binding from the beginning, but the participants in the machinery of the general international organization now should be the forty-four United Nations and Associates. After the war the right of the neutrals to participate would be recognized. Only after a period of probation and when it is certain that they have reformed should the enemy states be permitted to use the machinery, even though they are bound, like all other states, by the universal laws.

Under this plan it would be possible to establish the General International Organization now, with provisions for its eventually becoming universal.

## II.

### HOW SHALL IT BE CONTROLLED?

HERE WE plunge into the heart of the whole discussion—the influence of the Great Powers and the rights of the small powers.

The statesmen must create a democratic world organization; at the same time they must give authority to the Great Powers in proportion to the heavy responsibilities which they must carry in winning the war and reconstructing the world. The Moscow Declaration clearly recognized the age-old principle of international law, that states, large and small, are equal before the law. It foreshadowed "a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states. . . ." This implies equal participation in the deliberations of the supreme governing body and equal protection by the law.

But it must also be recognized that certain great nations today—notably the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China—are carrying the major burdens of the war, and will bear very heavy responsibilities for reconstruction and the enforcement of peace, following the war. They will want powers equal to their responsibilities. For example, the United States must be given more authority than Costa Rica, and Great Britain more authority than Luxemburg.

If there is danger in the exercise of extraordinary power by the Great Powers, it will not be in the exercise of the power itself but because it is exercised independently of a democratic international organization. What the small United Nations fear today is not that the great powers will use a strong hand, but that they will use it without consultation with and con-

sideration of the other nations. These fears can be overcome if the Big Four exercise their power within the framework and by the authority of the general international organization. The sooner the great powers create this organization, the sooner will they disarm a suspicion which might even grow until it interfered with the exercise of their authority.

### *Assembly*

If all of the nations are to be bound by certain laws of the General International Organization, and all have the right to use its machinery, a primary governing body must be established to which all the states that wish would send delegates. This Assembly would be the great Parliament of Nations. It should meet at least once a year at a stated time. Here the statesmen would debate the problems and policies of world cooperation. The Assembly would be the final authority in the world organization. It would give instructions and outline policies for the executive bodies to carry out. It would receive reports from these bodies, and approve or criticize their actions.

Decisions of the Assembly must not require unanimous vote. The League of Nations Assembly and Council required a unanimous vote to take action, except in matters of procedure. This requirement was like a shadow which paralyzed courageous action from the beginning.

### *Executive Council*

So far there has been general agreement that the Assembly shall be representative of all the nations participating. Discussion has arisen as to the composition of the Executive Council. The first job of this body will be to prevent aggression. Above everything else, the people of the world will want security from another war. Can the Executive Council act wisely to settle a dispute between two nations? Can it crack down quickly upon the international gangster? World security depends upon it.

Obviously, to perform this task the Executive Council must



be small. Sixty-five nations cannot take quick decisions to stop aggression. Probably the Council should not contain more than eleven members. But how can they be fairly selected from sixty-five states? That is the most perplexing problem in building a general international organization.

The experience of the League of Nations Council tells us some things to copy and some to avoid. The League of Nations Covenant provided that certain great powers were to have permanent seats in the Council and a few small powers were to occupy non-permanent seats. The latter were to be passed around among the smaller powers.

Several weaknesses showed themselves in this system. There were a great number of small states which at any time were without direct or indirect representation on the Council. Smaller states were ambitious and wanted permanent seats. Since this was not possible, the statesmen compromised by creating some semi-permanent seats. The Council became large and there was much confusion and disappointment.

The perfect Executive Council might be a small number of men selected for their outstanding abilities, without reference to nationality. Undoubtedly such a number of men could be found just as readily as capable judges were found for the World Court.

Realistically, Great Britain, Russia, China, and the United States, known as the Big Four of the United Nations, and probably France, are going to insist that they be continuously represented on the Council. These four or five will argue, rightly, that since the heavy job of reconstruction will fall upon them, they must have the necessary authority to do the job. At the same time there must be representation from the smaller states.

Mr. Sumner Welles proposes that the seats reserved for the small powers be divided among the various regions of the world, and that the nations in those regions themselves select the most distinguished individual or individuals to represent all of them on the Council.



Whatever the method of selection will be, it will probably work out that of the eleven persons sitting on the Council four will be representatives of the four great powers, the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China. Members of the Council to be selected now should serve until the last Axis power has surrendered. After such surrender, President Roosevelt's suggestion should be followed, that the Council be elected annually. The President undoubtedly had in mind that an annual election would make for a greater turnover.

Certain principles must be adhered to in creating the Council. First, the Council should be considered the *executive committee* of the entire world organization, and like any executive committee, therefore, represent *all* the participants in the community. If the eleven statesmen who sit at the Council table consider themselves to be representatives only of their nations, as was the case with the members of the League Council, many small states will feel that they are not represented, and the whole system will break down. If the world community has laws which all nations are bound to obey, and machinery which all have a right to use, and an Assembly in which all are represented, then all nations must be assured that they are truly represented by the Council which must be the true executive committee of the General International Organization.

The Executive Council must also be able to look ahead, see trouble on the horizon, and, like the Assembly, advise the nations how to meet it before it becomes serious.

Decisions of the Council either for the peaceful settlement of a dispute or for the use of military and economic forces to restrain or stop an aggressor must be taken by a majority vote. The rule of unanimity, which was so paralyzing to initiative at Geneva, must be discarded.

However, in the use of force to restrain aggression there must be some way in which the majority vote of the Council would give special consideration to the great powers who will contribute the major forces for police action. Theoretically, in a simple majority six small states on the Council without much

military force to contribute could vote an action which the four great powers would have to take against their unanimous will. On the other hand, to declare that the majority vote must include all of the votes of the nations with permanent seats on the Council would lean too far the other way, giving any great power a veto. The most practical proposal seems to me to be one which would provide that the Council could take action to stop an aggressor by a majority vote, providing that vote included a majority of the great powers with permanent seats on the Council.

Under no circumstance should either a great or a small power have a vote when it is party to a dispute. No state should be above the law.

Advocates of world government are disappointed because the Moscow Declaration and the statements of the Secretary of State and the President indicate that the General International Organization will be made up of national units. They are disappointed that there are not more elements of a super-state in the plan.

But we are living in a period when the nation-state is the basic unit of the world community. Few of us have ever stopped to analyze what makes up an independent nation with its own government. No matter what their size, the "sovereign equality" of these nations is recognized by the law.

Now the nation-state has not always been the basic unit of international life as it is to-day; and it may not necessarily be so in the future. Possibly some new system by which peoples will be represented on other than national lines may be worked out. Because of the airplane men can travel around the world faster than they could go from New York to Washington in the early days of this country. As time and space are eliminated, new federations and new loyalties may rise which cannot possibly be predicted today. We have no way of knowing. But today we are living in a time in which the nation-state is the basic unit of international society. The statesmen have decided to build upon that foundation.

### III.

#### WHAT ARE THE OBLIGATIONS?

MANY PEOPLE ask what sovereignty we must sacrifice to the world organization. Sovereignty is like personal liberty. There was never such a thing as absolute personal liberty—nor absolute national sovereignty. A gangster insists upon absolute personal liberty—so we destroy him. Germany and Japan are the principal nations that today insist upon absolute national sovereignty. That is why we are going to destroy their systems.

The purpose of world organization is to preserve the liberty of the nation, not to destroy it. A dozen nations temporarily lost their sovereignty in this war because Germany, Italy and Japan claimed their sovereign right to do as they pleased. By subscribing to the laws against war and cooperating to prevent aggression, the nations would gain the greater liberty which security and prosperity give.

It will help us to think of world community life in two divisions: The first division is *security from war*, in which the nations are willing to agree in advance to do or not to do certain things. The other division is the *field of welfare*, in which the nations are unwilling to take advance commitments beyond general cooperation. In the first division we employ compulsion; in the second, cooperation.

Public opinion polls amply show that seventy-five per cent of the American people want an international police force. The United States Chamber of Commerce has voted 1829½ Chambers for, to only 71 against, the use of military force, acting through a combined chiefs of staff, to prevent military

aggression. The American Federation of Labor at its New York convention on April 12, 1944, came out strongly for the enforcement of peace. Nations have reached the point, after two world wars within twenty-five years, where they are willing to agree in advance to settle their disputes by peaceful means and to use their joint forces to prevent aggression.

On the other hand, the people of the United States, as well as some other nations, are not willing to be dictated to in such fields as tariff, labor, aviation policies, etc. But they are willing to cooperate.

The nations cooperate in labor policy through the International Labor Organization. An international agency is now being planned to help regulate international air traffic. Undoubtedly the United States and other nations will find it necessary to agree to many things in these fields. But their agreements will be reached after conferences and consultation, and not incorporated in the constitution of the General International Organization.

Public opinion will be a strong factor in these agencies. If a nation wants to be an economic pirate when the rest of the nations are cooperating, there will be many ways in which the offending nation will be made to feel the force of world opinion.

Actually, what advance commitments should the American people be willing to take in the General International Organization?

They should commit themselves:

*To abstain from the use of military force to impose their will upon their neighbors. . . . Does any American wish to be an aggressor?*

*To settle disputes peaceably. . . . Does any American wish to do otherwise?*

*To agree to use their forces—military, economic, or otherwise—in cooperation with others, to prevent aggres-*

*sion. . . . Is there any American who would not prefer that to fighting a world war every twenty years?*

*To cooperate without compulsion, so that all nations might enjoy a richer life. . . . This is simply the good neighbor policy; would any one reject it?*

I respect those who would like to establish a world government which would give the General International Organization authority over a much wider field than the prevention of war. I believe that the impact of the airplane and other achievements of applied science will result in considerable world government in time to come. But my effort is to outline what I believe the peoples and their governments would find most ideal and practicable to-day. The peace of tomorrow can only be saved by the action of today.

The next two chapters will deal with the prevention of aggression and the securing of justice. In these fields nations must make definite advance commitments. Subsequent chapters will deal with the field of cooperation.

#### IV.

### HOW SHALL PEACE BE ENFORCED?

NATIONS must be freed of the fear of war and of attack, of back-breaking military preparation. If they are not, jobs cannot be secured, free enterprise maintained, children educated. Ask anyone what he wants most out of this war. He will reply—to know that we are not going to have to fight the war all over again—

The next paragraphs, then, deal with the heart of the whole question: How can the General International Organization provide the means by which the nations can crack down on an aggressor before he really gets started?

There is a mighty weight of American public opinion demanding that the nations agree in advance to use whatever force is necessary to stop aggression. In the minds of most people this means military force; it means using the combined armies, navies and air forces of the world to whatever degree is necessary. Resolutions by Congress and statements of the general public, including labor, business, religion, all recognize the need of military force to prevent aggression. Few people realize how much of an American idea this is. In 1910, the United States Congress passed a resolution recommending the appointment by the President of a commission to consider using the combined navies of the world as an international force for the preservation of peace.

#### *Police Forces*

The basic step then, in preventing war, is a joint agreement on the part of the nations to use their combined military forces to stop the international gangster. The Executive Council must



have authority to request such forces and the request must be complied with immediately. Probably a *security commission* composed of representatives of all nations would have plans ready for the Council to use when such action becomes necessary. A combined general staff would be necessary to direct the combined forces of the individual nations when aggression is threatened. Many people would go farther. They want the agreement on the part of all of the nations to use their forces in time of danger as a supplement to a real *international police force* composed of men who would wear the uniform of the General International Organization and be directly under its command. Probably a large number of American people who say they favor an international police force are thinking along this line.

It is commonly asserted in the press that our Government has given up the idea of actual international police force. Many people will be disappointed if the door has been closed to at least the beginning of a real international police force. Obviously such a force cannot be achieved fully at once, although it is the goal to work for. A beginning should be made, however, with an *international air force* under the command of the executive council and manned by volunteers wearing the international uniform. This air force would be able to arrive quickly at the scene of trouble.

When one thinks of the tremendous possibilities of the new B-29 super-fortress, when one thinks of such planes being able to fly thousands of miles in a few hours, who can escape the conclusion that an international air force composed of a few such planes would be the most powerful police weapon ever dreamed of? During the nineteenth century the English-speaking peoples were able to develop their liberties with a minimum amount of militarism because they were protected by sea power. The airplane should give similar security to the entire world in the twentieth century.

The tragic, overnight destruction of the independence of many small states in this war has proved that there are not



more than four or five nations to whom military preparedness can be of any value in the face of an attack by a great power. There are not more than four or five nations that have the population, industrial capacity, and resources to defend themselves for more than a few hours against an air attack from one of the great powers. Obviously, Great Britain, Russia, China, and the United States will be the major nations to contribute forces in the time of crisis to stop an aggressor. But the other half of the world's population will wish to participate in the policing of the world for the security of all. If the small states are to be told that armaments for them are of little defense value, they must be permitted to contribute contingents to an international force of some kind.

There will be times when aggression can be most effectively prevented by the nations acting regionally. But such regional action must always be within the framework of the world organization and must never be a substitute for its action when necessary.

### *Police Stations*

Another step should be taken now. United Nations security bases should be maintained as the world's police stations. Today the United Nations are sharing strategic bases from which United Nations ships and planes leave to attack the enemy. Why should not some of these joint bases be continued by the United Nations to maintain the peace? Some of the present military bases will be valueless, others will have commercial use, and others strategic importance. No one would deny the concern of the United States in bases throughout the world which have been created with the labor of American boys and with lend-lease supplies. But other nations have equity in some of these bases also. It would be tragic indeed if the Great Powers should start an imperialist race for strategic air and sea bases. Must we confess that we can fight together to win the war, but cannot work together to maintain the peace?

Certain of these bases should be occupied by the forces of

the United Nations with the greatest security interests in that area. But in addition to their flags, there should be flown the flag of the General International Organization. These bases should be regarded as symbols of the international police.

Another means of stopping an international gangster is to quarantine him. President Roosevelt made a speech in Chicago, in 1937, in which he advocated this method. Unfortunately, Congress and the people of the United States were cold to the idea, which was to break off every relationship with the aggressor. No railroads, telegrams, shipments of food would reach him. He could not communicate with the outside world. He would be denied every benefit of the world community. Most nations would have a pretty hard time existing under such conditions. In some cases the quarantine alone would not be enough. The world community must have at its command all the means necessary to enforce peace.

Hand in hand with security must come reduction of armaments. The cost of this war is so great that the interest on our national debt from now on will exceed the cost of our entire federal government a few years ago. We pay this willingly because it is necessary to save our liberties. But when this war is won, we do not want to find it necessary to prepare for another. The cost would break us. However, wide disarmament is not going to come at once. But if the nations agree to use their combined military forces to fight aggression, no nation will find it necessary to maintain a large force by itself. We have seen that, under modern conditions, there are very few nations to whom world armaments will give any protection; and while they may give protection temporarily to these great powers, the cost of maintenance means bankruptcy. Disarmament of course will begin with Germany and Japan and their satellites which must be totally and permanently disarmed. There must also be general control and reduction of armaments. An armaments reduction agreement among the Big Four of the United Nations is required since they will be the most heavily armed.

## V.

### HOW SHALL JUSTICE BE ATTAINED?

NATIONS MUST have machinery to settle disputes peacefully. It must come hand in hand with the police force to stop the aggressor. There must be open to the nations a variety of ways for peaceful settlement, starting with diplomacy and running through the several forms of arbitration and conciliation.

Not all disputes can be settled. Two individuals may have a lifetime disagreement. There may be no basis for a settlement. But they do not fight about it: if they do, the law steps in. No one would be so unwise as to claim that every minor dispute between nations can be settled. The nations must be pledged not to go to war. But, if the dispute is serious and liable to lead to trouble, then it becomes the concern of the world community, because war anywhere affects nations everywhere.

In case such a dispute cannot be settled by the friendly means of diplomacy, conciliation or arbitration, or the good offices of a regional grouping, it should be brought to the attention of the Council by either party to the dispute or by any other state. If treaty or law exists for the settlement of the dispute, it should be referred to the World Court by either party or by the Council. The decision of the Court should be binding. As the world community produces more and more international law, the number of disputes for which a legal basis for settlement exists will continue to grow.

In case all other methods of settling the dispute have failed, the Council should make an investigation and give a decision which shall be binding upon the parties.

Another class of disputes must be referred to here. An agreement between two nations today might be unfair tomorrow. The international community like the domestic community must provide peaceful means for revision of such conditions. For illustration: Years ago foreign nations insisted that China grant their nationals special rights, their own courts, etc. As China became stabilized, these agreements which might have been necessary years ago became a source of humiliation. There was a provision in the League of Nations Covenant, Article 19, for revision of such agreements. But the necessity of an unanimous vote in the Assembly or Council blocked any such consideration.

Provisions must therefore be made for some commission which can examine such conditions and, by negotiation and persuasion, try to get them changed if necessary. In a matter that is serious the Assembly should have the authority, by two-thirds vote, to insist upon the recommendations of the commission being carried out.

## VI.

### CAN LIVING STANDARDS BE IMPROVED?

Now, to review for a moment. We have said that nations, because of their experience with two world wars in the last twenty-five years, are willing to say in advance in a world constitution what they would do to prevent war. We have also said that in the economic and social fields the nations would make progress through cooperation rather than through compulsion.

Law and order is the first concern of citizens on a frontier. Frontier justice is rough and concerned with the prevention of murder and theft. The first need is a sheriff, a justice of the peace, and a stout rope. As years go by, schools, libraries, churches, business institutions, railroads, and many other blessings of civilization attract most of the attention of the citizens. But the forces of law and order are there, although not so apparent except when they are actually needed.

So it is with the United Nations. In the world community which they are now organizing, law and order, the international police force, and the court will, for the next few years, be the first concern. Granting a few peaceful years the nations should move rapidly toward an expanding world trade, more airlines, better distribution of food, the improvement of the lot of backward peoples, and exchange of ideas. The blessings of international civilization will hold most of our attention. But the machinery for law and order will be there ready to be used in a crisis.

Let us examine the kinds of cooperation which the nations are setting up in these fields of human welfare. Here, a comparison with the League of Nations is helpful.

The League of Nations was created by the Paris Peace Conference. It had two autonomous agencies, the International Labor Organization and the World Court. As time went on, other semi-autonomous functions were developed. Now instead of creating the General International Organization at one sitting, the nations seem to be building it room by room. Already a number of autonomous agencies have been set up. The roof, of course, must be the over-all political machinery. There will undoubtedly be many more autonomous agencies under the new world organization than there were under the League.

*The International Labor Organization* is the precedent for a number of autonomous agencies now in process of formation. The I.L.O., besides having a permanent staff and a governing body, has an annual conference to which each nation sends four delegates—two representing the Government, one the Employers, and one the Workers. It does not *compel* any nation to do anything; but the nations *agree in conference* to improve labor standards.

*The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration* (UNRRA) was the first United Nations Organization to be set up. It is already at work, planning relief and rehabilitation as areas are liberated. It is of a more temporary character than other United Nations organizations planned.

*The United Nations Organization for Food and Agriculture* is growing out of the United Nations Conference at Hot Springs. Its purpose is to raise nutrition standards and to improve the condition of the world's agriculture. One third of the people of the world never have enough to eat. Farmers go bankrupt because they cannot sell their surpluses to people who are starving because they cannot get these surpluses. The Food and Agriculture Organization will attempt, through cooperation, to deal with this most fundamental problem of human want.

Other United Nations Conferences are planned, with the



hope that they will create autonomous agencies in their respective fields.

The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference has submitted plans for *currency stabilization* and an *international bank*.

An international agency for cooperative regulation of *international commercial aviation* is predicted. Within the past few years air travel has developed so rapidly that no spot in the world is more than sixty hours flying time from any airport. Countries will wish to send their planes throughout the world with passengers and commerce, as they have sent their ships for many years. But air travel involves joint air bases and high safety standards. Undoubtedly an *international air authority* must be set up. It will not *compel* the nations to do anything, but nations will *agree in conference* upon the international regulations without which air travel would be impossible.

Educators of the United States and other countries are urging an *international organization for education*, to provide for the exchange of students and for other means of building in each country a respect for the culture of others.

The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has suggested a United Nations *Commission on Human Rights* as one of the agencies of the international organization. It would be the duty of this organization to advance the basic freedoms of the individual, including his freedom of communication and of religion, throughout the world. It should develop an International Bill of Rights.

Each of these agencies will have its particular constitution; each should draw into conferences not only representatives of the governments, but representatives of the people—airline operators, farmers, business men, educators—who are the most concerned. It is interesting to note that the constitutions of UNRRA, Food and Agriculture, and the Currency Stabilization organizations are different, but adjusted to the particular task to be performed.



Eventually these agencies may become very much more important to the lives of the people than the machinery for the enforcement of peace. They will help fulfill the promise of the Atlantic Charter: "That all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Now, an interesting question arises: How can these organizations be tied together? There are statesmen who say that each of them should be independent. Others believe that they should work very closely together. My own point of view is somewhere between the two. If the organizations are not tied together in some manner they will be competing with each other for tasks and budgets. And when the Executive Council wants to quarantine an aggressor, it will not be able to order the various agencies to deny their services to the aggressor. On the other hand, these agencies, each with its own constitution and form of representation, should be dictated to as little as possible by the Assembly and the Executive Council. Certainly, the Assembly and the Executive Council should receive reports from them, and the reports should be debated at the annual meetings of the Assembly. The Assembly should be able to give general instruction to the agencies. Thus a sense of unity will develop.

Probably the best way of bringing the several agencies into cooperation would be the establishment of a central committee, to be composed of the chairman or executive directors of the agencies and responsible to the Assembly. The Chairman of the General International Organization might be the presiding officer of the central committee.

## VII.

### WHAT SHOULD BE DONE WITH THE COLONIES?

THE NATIONS which have colonies should consider themselves responsible to the General International Organization. They should be regarded as trustees of dependent peoples.

Throughout modern history most of the so-called backward peoples have been ruled to a considerable extent, and frequently exploited, by the colonial powers. Development of public conscience in the past has forced improvement in the treatment of native populations. The League of Nations mandates system, while far from perfect, was an indication of this conscience. A large section of British public opinion has indicated that it wishes to extend dominion status or local self-government to the non-English-speaking portions of the Empire. The Queen of the Netherlands has stated that as soon as the Dutch Empire is freed, its various parts will be given local self-government and representation in the Dutch Parliament so that the Netherlands Empire will be a federation with representation for all peoples.

An Anglo-American commission is now studying ways to improve the living conditions of the natives of the Caribbean Islands. The United States has promised freedom to the Philippines. Undoubtedly, both the Philippines and the Americans will want some agreement on future foreign policy.

Despite the progress that is being made, millions of people are still held back and exploited by colonial powers. What should be done? Eventually it is hoped all people will be free. But here we must start with what is possible now. The following steps should be taken:

1. The League of Nations mandates should be continued. The Japanese mandated islands which Japan fortified in violation of her agreement with the League of Nations and the United States should be maintained under the joint occupation of the United States, Australia, China, New Zealand, Russia and Great Britain, as United Nations bases for security in the Pacific.
2. The colonial territory taken away from Italy in this war should be placed under the administration of the General International Organization. It should neither be returned to Italy nor divided up among the Allies, who have renounced territorial gains in the Atlantic Charter.
3. Nations with colonies to which they are not willing to grant self-government should accept the principle of international trusteeship. A trusteeship agency of the General International Organization should be created. All nations with non-self-governing colonies—and this applies to the United States as well as to Great Britain and the rest—should be responsible to the trusteeship agency for three obligations: The education of the natives for self-government; the advancement of the economic and educational well-being of the natives; and, the guarantee of equal trading opportunities for all nations.

## VIII.

### WHERE WILL THE HEADQUARTERS BE? WHO WILL PAY THE BILLS?

THE IDEAL situation would be for some nation to give up a few square miles of territory for a world capital after the model of the District of Columbia. Failing that, there is no reason why the buildings of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization at Geneva should not be used for a large part of the General International Organization. Undoubtedly, use could also be made of the Peace Palace at The Hague which housed the World Court.

It may very well be that no single spot can be selected at the moment where all of the agencies of the world organization could be located. Western Europe will have lost its relative importance in relationship to China, Russia, the Americas and the British Commonwealth. As many of the agencies as possible should be located in one place. The political part of the Organization must be located in a spot where it may be able to function without restraint. Switzerland interfered with the functioning of the League of Nations before the war broke out, because she was afraid that if the League were vigorous in condemning aggression, it would interfere with her special neutrality status. If the political activities function from Geneva, it must be only after assurance that this interference will not be repeated.

It would be better if the Council and Assembly could always meet in the same place where the general secretariat would be located. It may very well be, however, that there will be times when the Executive Council and the Assembly will have to travel. With the growing importance of Russia, China and the

Americas, the Executive Council and the Assembly may, on occasion, have to travel around from Chungking, to Moscow, to Paris, to London, to Washington, to Montreal, to Rio de Janeiro. It will be inconvenient, but air travel has so shrunk distances that none of the places will be more than sixty hours, and some even less, from another. It would be well for the Executive Council to be in continuous session, at least for the first few years after the war. Obviously it must have a permanent meeting place.

There must be a Secretariat—a staff of people serving the Assembly and the Executive Council. Each of the agencies, such as the aviation authority, the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the International Bank, the Trusteeship Organization, will naturally have its own staff wherever the head offices are located.

The job of building these agencies and a worthy staff of experts to serve them will be one of the great adventures of our generation. New careers will be open to men and women. The members of the various staffs will not surrender their loyalty or their citizenship, but they must be independent of dictation from their Governments and able to serve the world in the most high-minded manner. In the early days of the League of Nations the most ideal part of it was the secretariat—men and women with imagination, seeing the chance of helping build a world of peace and prosperity. The first weakening of the League staff came when Mussolini said that no Italian could serve on the League Secretariat without the permission of the Italian Government, which meant, without being a member of the fascist party, and being bossed by it at Geneva. Such a thing must not happen in the General International Organization.

It will take considerable money to pay the expenses of the Organization and its various agencies. But it will be the cheapest possible insurance against war. The budget of the League of Nations was never more than seven million dollars—utterly

inadequate to do the job—and yet there were governments spending millions of dollars on armaments who were unwilling to spend a few thousand dollars to build a world organization strong enough to prevent a war the cost of which is already estimated as over a trillion dollars.

The budget of the General International Organization might come from two sources: Contributions of the individual nations, and from international services rendered by the Organization.

All nations should contribute to the budget. The question may be asked: Since you say that all nations have the right to participate, suppose some refuse to pay? Most nations will meet their obligations.

The world organization must have a source of revenue independent of the nations' contributions. For illustration, plans are under way for an International Bank. The profit from the Bank could go into the treasury of the General International Organization. There will undoubtedly be an international aviation authority so that nations may have joint air bases which all can use to tap the air commerce of the world. A small tax on international passengers and freight travelling over the international air routes could be collected and go into the treasury. Other methods will be thought of. It should not be difficult to derive direct revenue of this kind.



## IX.

### WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?

A SURPRISING number of people—some most unexpectedly—are advocating a return to the League of Nations. They reason that nothing can possibly be created in a General International Organization that does not have its roots in something the League initiated. They reason that the League Covenant could be revised to provide the force necessary to stop aggression. Many of the League's agencies are functioning. The League is the custodian for some five hundred international agreements; it supervises mandates. It had the first trained international civil service, some of whom can be gathered together as the beginning of a new staff.

The Moscow Declaration, however, and the negotiations which have now opened, would indicate that the statesmen are planning to make a fresh start by creating the General International Organization. Conferences have been held, or are being planned, to create agencies of the United Nations.

It would be a tragedy indeed if anything which the League of Nations created which is serviceable, or anything which the United Nations are creating today, should be lost to the world community. There should be no rivalry between the League of Nations and the United Nations. They should be merged in the General International Organization.

The League of Nations Association has proposed that a *general commission* be set up, containing members of the supervisory committee of the League of Nations and representatives of the four Great Powers which signed the Moscow Declara-



tion, and three additional smaller powers. Russia and the United States would be the two representatives from the United Nations that are not members of the League of Nations. This Commission would determine how the machinery, obligations, property, staff and experience of the League of Nations should be utilized by the General International Organization now being created.

## X.

### CONCLUSION

THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION must be created if mankind is to avoid a third world war. It can and must be done.

Today we are on the verge of a great military victory. This victory is the result of several years of preparation in adversity. The war is being won, first, because our military strategy is planned with the greatest boldness and imagination; second because the United Nations have been able to act with a single will; and third, because timing has been accurate. If the statesmen now negotiating the General International Organization are to succeed it will be because their plans are equally wise and bold, because they are as united and because their timing is as careful.

As for timing, the world organization must be set up immediately. The war may end with surprising suddenness. Will the nations be ready for the peace? An old-fashioned peace conference, such as wrote the treaties at the end of the last war and created the League of Nations, is to be avoided. The peace settlements should be planned now. Of course, there are many problems that cannot be settled in advance, and not every department of the General International Organization can be created now. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace has always recognized the need of a transition period. But the strategy of the peace can be determined in advance and the conferences held after the war be conferences of experts to carry out decisions previously agreed upon. Such a procedure necessitates the creation of the General International Organization before the war ends.

Today, when nations are cooperating magnificently to carry

out the boldest military strategy ever planned, they should use similar strategy and cooperation to create the international organization. They should not wait for reaction, fatigue and a lessening of moral enthusiasm to wreck their dreams for the organization. The time has come for action. The next eight months will determine the pattern of the General International Organization and whether or not the American people shall take their full responsibilities or once again retreat into isolation. The American people overwhelmingly have indicated that they want a strong organization with American participation. They should express themselves to the heads of our Government, urging that the organization now being discussed with our Allies be as bold and strong as are our military plans and they should demand of each statesman, irrespective of party and previous position, that he support full American participation in such an organization.



